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To Be Liked Versus Respected: Divergent Goals in Interracial Interactions

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Pervasive representations of Blacks and Latinos as unintelligent and of Whites as racist may give rise to divergent impression management goals in interracial interactions. We present studies showing that in interracial interactions racial minorities seek to be respected and seen as competent more than Whites do, whereas Whites seek to be liked and seen as moral more than racial minorities do. These divergent impression management goals are reflected in Whites' and racial minorities' self-report responses (Studies 1a, 1b, 2, and 4) and behaviors (Studies 3a and 3b). Divergent goals are observed in pre-existing relationships (Study 2), as well as in live interactions (Studies 3a, 3b, and 4), and are associated with higher levels of negative other-directed affect (Study 4). Implications of these goals for interracial communication and misunderstandings are discussed.

Keywords: interracial interactions, intergroup contact, impression management, self-presentation, nonverbal behavior

People care deeply about how others perceive them, a phenomenon believed to reflect a fundamental human need to belong in groups and maintain stable relationships (Baumeister & Leary, 1995). This need to belong causes people to monitor their social surroundings for indications of acceptance or rejection from others and to manage their behavior to minimize the possibility of exclusion (Leary, Tambor, Terdal, & Downs, 1995). In interracial interactions, racial minorities and Whites contend not only with general interpersonal concerns about positive evaluation and belonging but also with the possibility of being negatively stereotyped by outgroup members (Krueger, 1996). Given pervasive representations of racial minorities as unintelligent and Whites as racist, Blacks and Latinos may worry that they will be stereotyped as incompetent, whereas Whites may fear being perceived as bigoted during social interactions. Insofar as these group stereotypes differ, so too will the impression management concerns of each racial group and the behavioral strategies they use to disconfirm these stereotypes.

We sought in this research to examine the extent to which interracial interactions activate divergent impression management goals for Blacks and Latinos on one hand and Whites on the other. Across a series of studies, we tested whether Blacks and Latinos are more likely than Whites to have the goal of being respected and whether Whites are more likely than Blacks and Latinos to have the goal of being liked. We also assessed whether these divergent goals are evident in pre-existing real-world relationships (Study 2). Furthermore, we explored whether minorities—seeking to convey competence to elicit respect—engage in self-promotion behaviors, whereas Whites—seeking to convey warmth and morality to elicit liking—engage in ingratiation behaviors (Studies 3a & 3b). Finally, we aimed to demonstrate divergent self-reported impression management goals in live dyadic interactions between strangers in the lab to examine the extent of goal divergence for minority groups stereotyped as low (e.g., Blacks and Latinos) versus high (e.g., Asians) in competence and to test the affective correlates of these divergent goals (Study 4).

Stereotypes and Impression Management Goals

Basic person perception research suggests that people often evaluate others along two dimensions: warmth or morality and competence (Fiske, Cuddy, & Glick, 2007). Notably, the former dimension, variously labeled *warmth* (e.g., Fiske et al., 2007) and *morality* (Wojciszke, 2005), is thought to encompass "other-serving" traits related to benevolence, sociability, morality, and deference. The two dimensions are associated with specific evaluative responses. Specifically, warmth and morality (or the lack thereof) are associated with (dis)liking, and (in)competence is associated with (dis)respect (Fiske, Xu, Cuddy, & Glick, 1999). Although the dimensions vary independently (Wojciszke, 2005), perceptions of groups' warmth and competence are generally neg-

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atively correlated (Yzerbyt, Kervyn, & Judd, 2008), such that stereotyped outgroups are perceived as either (a) warm or moral but incompetent, and thus liked but disrespected, or (b) competent but cold or immoral, and thus respected but disliked. Most research on warmth or morality and competence has focused on people's evaluations of others, assessing whether people like or respect another individual or group, but people also give considerable thought to understanding others' evaluations of them (Vorauer, 2006). Accordingly, the present research focuses on people's goals of appearing warm or competent, namely, the extent to which people want others to like or respect them.

Indeed, research suggests that most people want to be liked and respected by others (Baumeister, 1982). People often enter interpersonal interactions hoping to fulfill these social goals. To be perceived as warm or moral and competent, and thus be liked and respected, facilitates not only successful navigation of the social world but also maintenance of a positive self-concept. Like many motivations, these goals are theorized to be most salient and aroused when they are threatened (Leary & Kowalski, 1990), that is, when the actor perceives a risk of being disliked or disrespected in a social interaction. Such situations may cause the actor to become consciously occupied with these goals and even more motivated to fulfill them.

Interactions between Whites and racial minorities can threaten these particular social goals. We suggest that because of their position in society and stereotypes associated with their groups, Whites and minorities place differential emphasis on the goals to be liked and respected by the outgroup. Specifically, as a dominant, high-status group in North American society, Whites are often considered intelligent and competent (Fiske et al., 2007). At the same time, however, Whites risk being perceived as prejudiced, biased, unfair, and closed-minded, especially during interracial interactions (Vorauer, Main, & O'Connell, 1998). Whites themselves report both personal beliefs and cultural stereotypes that ascribe intolerance to Whites (Krueger, 1996). Moreover, Whites are aware that racial minorities perceive Whites as racist. White Canadians, for instance, reported expecting Aboriginal Canadians—individually and as a group—to see Whites as prejudiced, unfair, closed-minded, critical, and insensitive (Vorauer et al., 1998). Moreover, when White Americans were asked, "What are the negative perceptions that other groups have about your racial group?" in an open-ended format, one third cited a stereotype of Whites as bigoted or racist, and overall participants rated Whites as more racist than other groups (Frantz, Cuddy, Burnett, Ray, & Hart, 2004).

Previous research implies that for Whites the desires to be seen as moral (i.e., nonprejudiced) and as likeable in interactions with minorities are closely related. For instance, White participants who were instructed to imagine interacting with a Black person who did not like them inferred that this person saw them as more prejudiced, relative to participants given no liking information (Winslow, 2004). Similarly, White participants who read that their Black partner considered them prejudiced thought their partner disliked them to a greater extent than participants given no prejudice information. Taken together, previous research suggests that although Whites have little reason to be concerned about appearing competent during interracial interactions, they may be particularly concerned about being seen as likeable because of the stereotype that they are racist. Thus, Whites are apt to have the goal to appear warm or moral and likeable, and by implication nonprejudiced, to Black and Latino interaction partners.

Lower status racial minority groups, especially Blacks and Latinos, are frequently stereotyped as less intelligent than higher status groups, such as Whites (Fiske, Cuddy, Glick, & Xu, 2002; Krueger, 1996),[1] and are therefore not afforded respect. Negative stereotypes about minorities' competence have an enduring history: The 10 most common stereotypical descriptions of Blacks over 75 years ago included *lazy*, *ignorant*, and *stupid* (Katz & Braly, 1933) and in the modern era still include *low in intelligence*, *lazy*, and *ignorant* (Devine & Elliot, 1995). Similarly, Latinos are often stereotyped as less intelligent than Whites (e.g., Weaver, 2007). Racial minorities are aware of these negative stereotypes about their groups (e.g., Krueger, 1996).

Although Blacks are also not stereotyped as particularly warm or likable, we theorize that they place less emphasis on the goal of being liked (vs. respected) by White interaction partners. We assert this preference for respect over liking for Blacks because incompetence—and thus disrespect—is more central to their stereotype in the United States (Devine & Elliot, 1995; Fiske et al., 2002). Indeed, insofar as positive stereotypes of Blacks suggest perceived warmth, these stereotypes also connote incompetence. For instance, Blacks have been stereotyped as *fun-loving* and *playful* (Allport, 1954) or *happy-go-lucky* (Katz & Braly, 1933)—characteristics that refer more to childlike naïveté than genuine warmth. Thus, even warm stereotypes of Blacks reflect perceived incompetence and confer disrespect. Unlike Whites, who are respected by default and thus place more emphasis on being liked in interracial interactions, Blacks, who are neither respected nor liked, place a greater emphasis on being respected.

Impression Management Behaviors: Self-Promotion Versus Ingratiation

People use various strategies to create particular impressions on others (DePaulo, 1992). Moreover, the degree of discrepancy between "the image one would like others to hold of oneself and the image one believes others already hold" drives impression management (Leary & Kowalski, 1990, p. 39). Thus, if Whites and minorities anticipate being assimilated to negative stereotypes of their respective group, during interracial interactions they should be motivated to use strategies that will counteract these stereotypes by eliciting respect or liking. To induce outgroup members to like and respect them, they may alter their behavior intentionally to make a good impression, usually by behaving in ways that disconfirm the stereotype.

Jones and Pittman's (1982) seminal work on self-presentation guides our research on behavioral impression management. Their taxonomy of impression management strategies outlines distinct behaviors associated with pursuing self-promotion and ingratiation goals. Specifically, they theorized that ingratiation (i.e., trying to elicit liking) is characterized by opinion conformity and other enhancement, whereas self-promotion (i.e., trying to earn respect) entails performance claims and accounts of accomplishments.

[1] Not all racial minority groups are stereotyped as incompetent. For instance, student and nonstudent samples rated Asians as highly competent and Arabs as moderately competent (Fiske et al., 2002). Thus, the present analysis (except Study 4) focuses on two minority groups, Blacks and Latinos, whose societal status and stereotype content are more congruent.

Empirically, what verbal and nonverbal behavioral strategies do people use when they want to be liked? People seeking to be liked engage in a host of ingratiation behaviors, mimicking those used when they are genuinely interested in others (Floyd & Burgoon, 1999; Schlenker, 1980). Some specific nonverbal ingratiation behaviors include smiling, gazing at the partner, leaning forward, modeling moderate body relaxation, using "open" body positions (especially for women), back-channeling responses (e.g., "mm-hmm") that signal attentiveness, choosing closer seating proximity, and using physical touch. Rosenfeld (1966) instructed participants to get an interaction partner either to like them (approval-seeking condition) or to realize that they were uninterested in them (approval-avoiding condition) without telling the other person these objectives. Participants seeking (vs. avoiding) approval showed more verbal attentiveness to their partner and talked more often and for longer, while using more affirmative head nods (for men) or smiling and gesticulating more (for women). Thus, approval seeking involves approach-related tactics.

What behavioral strategies do people use when they want to be respected? Most research in this area focuses on self-promotion or attempts to appear competent (Jones & Pittman, 1982; Rudman, 1998). Godfrey, Jones, and Lord (1986) instructed participants to induce an interaction partner either to like them as much as possible or to regard them as extremely competent without disclosing these objectives. Participants trying to appear competent (vs. trying to elicit liking) displayed nonverbal behaviors that were less attentive to their partner and more likely to draw attention to themselves. For example, these individuals were less likely to smile, nod, and gaze at their partners but were more likely to sit up straight and gesture confidently.

Thus, different impression management goals entailed performing distinct—and sometimes mutually exclusive—behaviors: Ingratiating participants deferred more to the other person, whereas self-promoting participants behaved more proactively. On the basis of this research, we predicted that in interracial interactions, Whites would attempt to elicit liking by using ingratiation behaviors, whereas minorities would seek respect with self-promotion behaviors.

Affective Correlates of Divergent Impression Management Goals

Conceivably, the divergent impression management goals of minorities and Whites could facilitate rather than impede enjoyable, effective interracial communication, given that both parties earnestly desire to convey positive attributes and elicit a favorable impression. However, the sharp divergence in behaviors associated with respect versus liking impression management goals can render these behaviors incompatible. These goals may entail mutually exclusive behaviors, such as adopting an informal and relaxed versus confident and purposeful tone (Godfrey et al., 1986). These differences are likely to lead to uncoordinated, asynchronous, and dysfunctional interactions. For example, a White person who tries to elicit liking by relying on humor, self-deprecating anecdotes, and flattery may appear patronizing to a Black person who is trying to elicit respect by focusing on accomplishments and showing confidence by behaving in a professional manner. As a result, the Black person will probably feel frustrated and out of sync with the White person. Likewise, the White person will also have a negative experience because his or her friendly behavior will go unreciprocated, rendering the White person more likely to perceive a reserved Black interaction partner as unfriendly rather than respect-seeking.

Our theorizing about negative affective consequences of incompatible impression management goals draws on the circumplex model of interpersonal behavior (Horowitz et al., 2006). In this model, a given interpersonal behavior invites a specific intended response from an interaction partner. Behaviors related to warmth (or *communion*) call for responses that are similar in warmth, whereas behaviors related to competence and control (or *agency*) invite responses that are opposite or reciprocal in control. In interracial interactions, when minorities pursuing respect goals use highly agentic, formal behaviors to convey their competence, they should expect responses from interaction partners that are similarly neutral in warmth and deferential with respect to agency. Thus, the highly affiliative, casual behaviors displayed by Whites pursuing liking goals will be doubly discrepant from the desired response, showing too much warmth and not enough deference. Conversely, the friendly, liking-seeking behaviors of Whites in interracial interactions should call for high-warmth responses from interaction partners, making minorities' less warm, more agentic behaviors seem inappropriate.

Given these divergent behaviors and incompatible responses, both interaction partners are at risk of having their goals unmet, which, in turn, will likely result in negative outcomes. In the circumplex model, noncomplementary reactions are theorized to frustrate the desires underlying impression management behaviors, leading to negative affect and subjective distress (Horowitz et al., 2006), especially hostility-related emotions, such as frustration, anger, and disappointment.

Overview of Studies

This research examines the extent to which interracial interactions activate divergent impression management goals for Whites and racial minorities. We used a series of studies to test whether in interracial interactions the goal to be respected or seen as competent matters more to Blacks and Latinos than to Whites, whereas the goal to be liked or seen as moral matters more to Whites than to Blacks and Latinos. In Studies 1a and 1b, we assessed self-reported impression management goals in preferred responses from a partner (i.e., respect vs. liking) and preferred qualities to be ascribed by a partner (i.e., competence vs. morality). In Study 2, we examined goal divergence in the context of real-world interracial relationships. Next, we tested whether in interracial interactions Whites engage in ingratiation behaviors, seeking to convey warmth and morality to elicit liking (Study 3a), whereas Blacks engage in self-promotion behaviors, seeking to convey competence to elicit respect (Study 3b). Finally, in Study 4, we examined whether these divergent goals are (a) specific to Whites and minority groups stereotyped as incompetent (e.g., Blacks and Latinos) as opposed to those stereotyped as competent (e.g., Asians) and (b) associated with increased negative affect.

Study 1a: Respect and Liking Goals in Imagined Interactions

In Study 1a, we tested the hypotheses that in interracial interactions Blacks and Latinos seek respect more than Whites,

whereas Whites seek liking more than Blacks and Latinos. In same-race interactions, Black and Latino participants and White participants were expected to place comparable emphasis on being respected versus liked. Participants were instructed to imagine engaging in a same-race or interracial interaction. Two types of scenarios—an academic and a social setting—were included to test whether goal divergence in interracial interactions generalizes across situations.

Method

Participants. White, Black, and Latino participants completed an online study for payment or course credit.[2] Analyses excluded 14 of the 180 participants because 10 failed manipulation checks and four expressed suspicion. The remaining participants included 80 White and 86 minority participants (48 Blacks and 38 Latinos). This sample contained 116 females and 50 males, with a mean age of 20.5 years (range = 18–28 years).

Design and procedure. For this study, we used a 2 (participant race: minority vs. White) × 2 (dyad composition: same-race vs. interracial) × 2 (context: social vs. academic) between-participants design to assess participants' respect and liking goals in imagined interactions.[3]

Imagined interaction. Participants were randomly assigned to imagine an interpersonal interaction in either a social (roommate) or academic (classmate) context. Participants imagined a hypothetical scenario in which they were assigned to either live or work together with another person of their same gender and class year. The racial composition of this interaction varied by condition and by participant race. White participants were assigned to imagine either a same-race interaction ($n = 43$) or an interracial interaction with a Black partner ($n = 37$). Similarly, minority participants imagined either a same-race interaction ($n = 44$) or an interracial interaction with a White partner ($n = 42$). An excerpt from one scenario (for a male senior participant) follows:

> Imagine that you unexpectedly have to relocate to new university housing for a semester. The housing office arbitrarily assigns rooms alphabetically by last name, such that most students are unacquainted with their roommates. You have been assigned to live with a senior, a male student of the same race, whom you have not previously met.

Participants were then prompted to mentally elaborate the scenario: "What do you think your interactions would be like? What kinds of expectations or concerns might you have about how you would get along with or be seen by your partner?" In the classmate scenario, participants were to be randomly assigned to work on a project with an unfamiliar partner for one semester.

Respect versus liking. After imagining their assigned scenario, participants indicated how they would like to be perceived by their hypothetical interaction partner. Participants were asked, "If you had to choose between being liked and being respected by this person, which would you regard as more important?" The response scale was a 7-point bipolar continuum from 1 (*most important to be liked*) to 7 (*most important to be respected*), with 4 (*equally important*) as the midpoint. Higher scores thus indicated a stronger preference for respect over liking.

Demographics and manipulation checks. Finally, participants reported their race, gender, and class year as well as those of their hypothetical interaction partner and then were debriefed.

Results and Discussion

The impression management goals were submitted to a 2 (participant race: minority vs. White) × 2 (dyad composition: same-race vs. interracial) × 2 (context: social vs. academic) analysis of variance (ANOVA).[4] Minorities reported a marginally stronger preference for respect ($M = 5.20$, $SD = 1.47$) relative to Whites ($M = 4.85$, $SD = 1.28$), $F(1, 158) = 3.47$, $p = .064$, $\eta_p^2 = .02$, and no other main effects were significant, all Fs$(1, 158) < 1.40$. The predicted interaction between participant race and dyad composition was significant, $F(1, 158) = 3.91$, $p < .05$, $\eta_p^2 = .02$ (see Figure 1a). Simple effects analyses revealed that in imagined same-race interactions, minorities and Whites did not differ in their preference for respect versus liking (respective Ms = 5.02 and 5.09, SDs = 1.66 and 1.19), $F(1, 83) < 1$.[5] In imagined interracial interactions, however, minorities reported a stronger preference for respect over liking ($M = 5.38$, $SD = 1.23$) relative to Whites ($M = 4.57$, $SD = 1.34$), $F(1, 158) = 7.01$, $p = .009$, $\eta_p^2 = .04$.[6] The three-way participant race, context, and dyad composition interaction was not significant, $F(1, 158) = 2.38$, $p = .125$, $\eta_p^2 = .01$, suggesting that the vignette context did not influence the divergent goals.

Thus, participants' self-reported forced-choice preferences for respect versus liking were consistent with our predictions. In imagined same-race interactions, Blacks, Latinos, and Whites reported comparable impression management preferences, but in interracial interactions, Blacks and Latinos reported a significantly stronger preference than Whites for respect as opposed to liking.

Study 1b: Competence and Morality Goals in Imagined Interactions

We designed Study 1b to replicate the goal divergence in Study 1a, using different wording for the dependent measure drawn from Vorauer (2006). Rather than choosing between being respected versus being liked, participants indicated their preference to be seen as competent versus moral. This terminology clearly differentiates impression management goals related to appearing competent (i.e., intelligent, counter to the stereotype of minorities) versus appearing moral (i.e., fair or unbiased, counter to the stereotype of Whites). Similar to Study 1a, we predicted that in interracial interactions, Blacks and Latinos value appearing competent more than appearing moral, whereas Whites value appearing moral more than appearing competent.

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[2] In this and all subsequent studies, no significant differences emerged between participants who received payment versus course credit.

[3] The study included a manipulation intended to enhance prejudice-related concerns, but it produced no significant effects, all Fs$(1, 150) < 0.2$, and was thus dropped from analysis.

[4] Gender did not interact significantly with any findings of interest in this or subsequent studies. Sometimes a marginal main effect for gender emerged, with men preferring being respected or appearing competent and women preferring being liked or appearing moral (Studies 1b, 2, and 4).

[5] The degrees of freedom differ due to a violation of the homogeneity of variance assumption, $p = .042$.

[6] Minorities sought respect nonsignificantly more in interracial (vs. same-race) interactions, $F(1, 158) = 1.09$, $p = .298$, whereas Whites sought liking marginally more in interracial (vs. same-race) interactions, $F(1, 158) = 3.02$, $p = .084$.

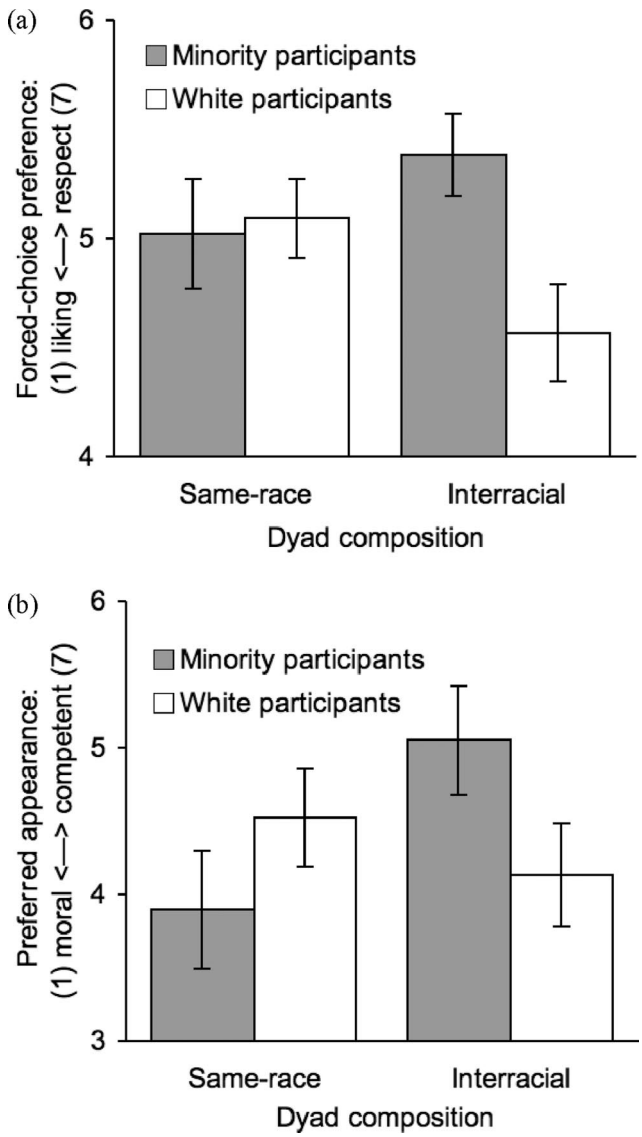

Figure 1. Mean preference to (a) be respected rather than liked (Study 1a) and (b) appear competent rather than moral (Study 1b) by participant race and dyad composition. Minority participants included Blacks and Latinos. Error bars = standard errors.

Method

Participants. A total of 90 White and racial minority undergraduates participated in the study for $8 or course credit, but five were dropped from analysis because three identified as Asian or Middle Eastern and two failed the manipulation checks. The remaining sample of 52 women and 33 men included 38 minorities (27 Blacks and 11 Latinos) and 47 Whites.

Design and procedure. As in Study 1a, we used a 2 (participant race: minority vs. White) × 2 (dyad composition: same-race vs. interracial) × 2 (context: social vs. academic) design to assess participants' impression management goals in imagined interactions. All instructions, manipulations, and measures were administered on a laboratory computer.

Imagined interaction. Participants were randomly assigned to imagine one of the scenarios described in Study 1a. Whites imagined either a same-race interaction ($n = 23$) or an interaction with a Black partner ($n = 24$), and minorities imagined either a same-race interaction ($n = 19$) or an interaction with a White partner ($n = 19$). Participants were then prompted to elaborate on the scenario: "In the situation that you just imagined, how would you want the other student to see you? What impression would you want that person to form of you?"

Competence versus morality. After imagining their assigned scenario, participants were asked to indicate how they would ideally like to be perceived by their hypothetical interaction partner. Participants were asked, "If you had to choose between being seen as competent and being seen as moral by this person, which would you regard as more important?" The response scale was a 7-point bipolar continuum from 1 (*more important to be seen as competent*) to 7 (*more important to be seen as moral*), with 4 (*equally important*) as the midpoint. To parallel Study 1a, we reverse scored this measure, such that higher scores indicate a preference for appearing competent over appearing moral.

Demographics and manipulation checks. Participants reported the type of scenario they imagined, as well as the race, gender, and class year of their hypothetical interaction partner. Finally, participants filled out a demographics questionnaire, then were debriefed and thanked.

Results and Discussion

We submitted the impression management goals to a 2 (participant race: minority vs. White) × 2 (dyad composition: same-race vs. interracial) × 2 (context: social vs. academic) ANOVA. This analysis revealed a main effect for context, $F(1, 77) = 9.32$, $p = .003$, $\eta_p^2 = .11$. Participants reported stronger preferences for appearing competent rather than moral with a classmate ($M = 4.88$, $SD = 1.55$) than with a roommate ($M = 3.88$, $SD = 1.69$). The predicted interaction between participant race and dyad composition was significant, $F(1, 77) = 5.80$, $p = .018$, $\eta_p^2 = .07$ (see Figure 1b). Tests of simple effects revealed that in imagined same-race interactions, minorities and Whites did not differ in their preference for appearing competent versus moral (respective Ms = 3.89 and 4.52, SDs = 1.76 and 1.62), $F(1, 77) = 2.08$, $p = .154$, $\eta_p^2 = .03$. In imagined interracial interactions, however, minorities reported a stronger preference for appearing competent rather than moral ($M = 5.05$, $SD = 1.61$) relative to Whites ($M = 4.13$, $SD = 1.69$), $F(1, 77) = 3.89$, $p = .052$, $\eta_p^2 = .05$.[7] No other effects were significant, all Fs$(1, 77) < 1.60$.

Participants' self-reported forced-choice preferences for appearing competent versus moral were consistent with our predictions. In imagined same-race interactions, minorities and Whites reported comparable preferences, but in interracial interactions, minorities reported a stronger preference than Whites for appearing competent as opposed to appearing moral. Also, as in Study 1a, the hypothesized goal divergence in interracial interactions demon-

[7] Whites' slightly stronger morality preference in interracial (vs. same-race) interactions was not significant, $F(1, 77) < 1$, whereas minorities preferred competence significantly more in interracial (vs. same-race) interactions, $F(1, 77) = 5.76$, $p = .019$.

strated cross-situational generalizability, insofar as it emerged for both social and academic scenarios.

Study 2: Divergent Goals in Dyadic Relationships

In Study 2, we aimed to show divergent impression management goals in the context of actual, as opposed to imagined, same-race and interracial relationships. Although much research has shown that imagining being in a situation is comparable to experiencing a real situation (see Robinson & Clore, 2001), other work has shown that the dynamics of actual interactions can be powerful enough to change people's goals and behaviors (Mallett, Wilson, & Gilbert, 2008). For example, although Whites and minorities anticipate pursuing divergent goals in imagined interracial interactions, in real interracial relationships conceivably both groups could report a comparable preference to be liked (or seen as moral) versus respected (or seen as competent), because being liked is the more fundamental social need (Nezlek, Schütz, & Sellin, 2007). Given the stereotypes of each group, however, we expected minorities to report a stronger preference than Whites for appearing competent (vs. moral) in interracial relationships, whereas in same-race relationships we did not expect the goals of Whites and minorities to differ.

Method

Participants. Initially, 89 White, Black, and Latino undergraduates were recruited to participate for course credit in an online study about either a same- or different-race friend of the same gender. (Participants had to select a White, Black, or Latino friend to be included in this study.) Analyses excluded six participants who misreported their friend's gender or race. The friends nominated by the remaining 83 participants were invited to complete the same online friendship study for $8, and 50 did so. The final sample of 133 students (83 original participants plus 50 friends) comprised 38 men and 95 women, reported a mean age of 19.5 years (range = 18–23 years), and self-identified as White ($n = 91$), Black ($n = 27$), and Latino ($n = 15$). Thus, the sample included 33 same-race and 17 interracial *complete* dyads, as well as 26 same-race and seven interracial *incomplete* dyads, with individuals ("solos") whose friends did not participate.

Design and procedure. We used a 2 (participant race: minority vs. White) × 2 (dyad composition: same-race vs. interracial) between-participants design to assess participants' respect (i.e., competence) and liking (i.e., morality) goals in actual dyadic relationships. A random number generator assigned participants to select a friend of the same gender and approximate age who attended the same college and whose race or ethnicity was described either as the "same as you" or "different from you." The sample included 11 participants who mistakenly selected a friend whose race did not match their assigned condition but who were retained for analyses because this error rate did not significantly vary by condition ($p > .10$) or interact with any findings of interest (all ps $> .10$). When the friends nominated by the original participants were invited to participate, they were instructed to complete the questionnaire with respect to the person who selected them. Notably, the friends' participation rate did not differ by condition, $\chi^2(1, N = 83) = 1.58$, $p = .209$. Everyone completed the study within a 10-week period.

Impression management goals. Participants reported the importance to them of appearing competent or moral to the other person using measures taken from Vorauer and Sakamoto (2008). Participants reported whether "it is important to me that this person sees me as" possessing traits that indicate competence (*intelligent*, *capable*, *competent*; $\alpha = .86$) and morality or likeabilty (*fair*, *kind*, *open-minded*, *a good person*; $\alpha = .85$) on 7-point scales. (These items were interspersed.) Univariate outliers were trimmed not to exceed 2.5 standard deviations. To compare these goals using dyadic mixed-model analyses, we computed an impression management goal difference score by subtracting the morality trait mean from the competence trait mean. Higher scores indicate a preference for appearing competent over appearing moral.

Background information. Participants indicated their gender, racial or ethnic background, age, and class year, and those of their friend, plus their relationship duration (ranging from "a few weeks" to "2 years or longer"). They indicated "How well does this person know you?" on a scale from 1 (*not at all*) to 7 (*very well*) and completed additional unrelated measures.

Results and Discussion

Analyses of the impression management goals revealed no significant differences between people who were initially recruited to participate by the experimenter versus nominated by a friend, all ps $> .15$. Similarly, no differences emerged for membership in a complete versus incomplete dyad, all ps $> .35$. All subsequent analyses therefore collapse across these variables.

Because the sample included 50 complete dyads (in addition to the 33 solo participants), dyadic mixed-model analyses were used to control for nonindependence and other dyad-level effects. This study involves both interracial and same-race dyads, so participant race is a *mixed* variable (varying both within and across dyads), and the two members of each dyad are thus treated as indistinguishable in all dyadic analyses (Kenny, Kashy, & Cook, 2006). In analyses of indistinguishable dyads, the variances of the two dyad members are treated as homogeneous (Kenny et al., 2006), because no variable systematically differentiates them. Notably, this procedure can yield fractional degrees of freedom. The full 2 (participant race) × 2 (dyad composition) factorial approach (see West, Popp, & Kenny, 2008) involves estimating three parameters in each model: participant race, dyad composition (i.e., partner race: different vs. same), and the Participant Race × Dyad Composition interaction. Effects coding was used for participant race (-1 = *minority*, 1 = *White*) and dyad composition (-1 = *interracial*, 1 = *same-race*).

Impression management goals. Participants' self-reported impression management goals, indexed by their differential preference for appearing competent (indicated by higher scores) versus moral (indicated by lower scores) to the other person, were submitted to a mixed-model analysis (see Figure 2). No significant main effects emerged for participant race or dyad composition (ps $> .15$), but the predicted interaction between participant race and dyad composition proved significant, estimate = 0.14, $t(125.2) = 2.28$, $p = .024$. In interracial relationships, the goals of Whites and minorities diverged, $t(61.8) = 2.61$, $p = .011$, with Whites reporting a stronger preference for appearing moral as opposed to competent ($M = -0.47$, $SD = 0.69$) than did minorities ($M = -0.01$, $SD = 0.59$). In same-race relationships, goals

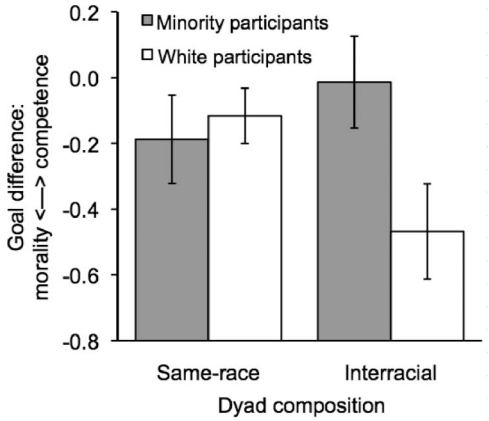

Figure 2. Mean impression management goal divergence (competence goal–morality goal) by participant race and dyad composition (Study 2). Minority participants included Blacks and Latinos. Error bars = standard errors.

did not differ between Whites ($M = -0.12$, $SD = 0.69$) and minorities ($M = -0.19$, $SD = 0.66$), $t(85.1) < 1$.[8]

Background information. The 83 relationships ranged in duration from "a few months" (5%) or "6 months to less than a year" (39%) to "a year to less than 2 years" (35%) or "2 years or longer" (22%) but did not differ for same-race versus different-race friends, $\chi^2(3, N = 83) = 5.94$, $p = .114$. Likewise, the measure assessing "How well does this person know you?" ($M = 4.92$, $SD = 1.24$) did not differ between same-race and interracial relationships, $t(74.81) < 1$. In sum, participants who were assigned to nominate a same-race (vs. different-race) friend did not select friends whom they had known longer or who knew them better.

Analysis of the "How well does this person know you?" measure suggested that the divergence in impression management goals may diminish for relationships in which individuals feel that the other person knows them well. This measure did not significantly moderate the Participant Race × Dyad Composition interaction predicting goals, $t(114.3) = -1.07$, $p = .289$. Notably, however, mixed-model analyses at conditional values one standard deviation above and below the mean of the "How well does this person know you" measure (Aiken & West, 1991) revealed that the Participant Race × Dyad Composition interaction was not significant for participants who reported that their friends knew them relatively well, $t(115.21) < 1$, but was significant for those whose friends knew them less well, $t(120.3) = 2.48$, $p = .015$. This pattern, while inconclusive (possibly due to limited sample size, particularly for minority participants), suggests that as interracial relationships develop and people get to know one another better, their impression management goals can converge. At the very least, these data serve as a reminder that divergent goals are not inevitable in all close interracial relationships, but they are salient in relationships in which people may be concerned about others potentially misperceiving them.

These findings replicate the divergent goals observed in Studies 1a and 1b and extend them to actual relationships. Also, this study independently assessed morality and competence impression management goals to demonstrate that the prior results are not restricted to forced-choice measures that explicitly set these goals in opposition. In the next studies, we more closely examined whether divergent goals are evident in behavior during interracial interactions.

Study 3a: Whites' Impression Management Behaviors in Interracial Interactions

Verbal and nonverbal behaviors are crucial to understanding the dynamics of interactions, and they provide another means of assessing people's impression management goals (DePaulo, 1992). We sought in this study, together with Study 3b, to examine the extent to which Whites and Blacks display divergent liking- and respect-seeking behaviors during interracial interactions. In Study 3a, Whites took part in an ostensible video-mediated interaction with a confederate that involved responding to a series of questions. Afterward, coders rated the extent of self-promotion and ingratiation evident in participants' videotaped verbal and nonverbal behaviors.

On the basis of Whites' self-reported liking and morality goals in the previous studies, we expected that Whites would display more ingratiation than self-promotion in interracial interactions but that these behaviors would not differ in same-race interactions.

Method

Participants. Of the 95 White undergraduate participants, five were dropped from analysis because three knew the confederate, one encountered an equipment malfunction, and one misperceived the confederate's race. The 90 remaining participants included 53 women and 37 men, with an average age of 19.6 years (range = 18–24 years). Participants were compensated with course credit or $10.

Design and procedure. We used a 2 (dyad composition: same-race vs. interracial) × 2 (impression management behaviors: self-promotion vs. ingratiation) mixed design, in which each White participant was paired with a White or Black confederate and impression management behaviors were assessed as a within-participants variable.[9] A White female experimenter presented this study as an "interpersonal communication" study about impression formation in proximal (face-to-face) versus remote (video-mediated) interactions. Participants were informed that they would interact with a partner via an exchange of videotapes, rather than face-to-face. After a brief warm-up session to familiarize participants with being filmed, the experimenter gave participants a list of questions for the upcoming interaction and permitted them to make point-form notes if they wished. The experimenter then left the room and returned with the confederate's videotape for the participant to view.

Interaction. The experimenter manipulated the same-race or interracial composition of each simulated interaction by showing White participants a videotape from a gender-matched confederate who was either Black ($n = 45$) or White ($n = 45$). The eight

[8] Whites had lower competence (vs. morality) goals in interracial (vs. same-race) relationships, $t(108.4) = 2.16$, $p = .033$; minorities' goals only trended in the predicted direction, $t(112.0) < 1$.

[9] As in Study 1a, a prejudice-concerns manipulation was included in the study design but was dropped from analysis because it failed to produce significant effects.

confederate videotapes included two Black women, two Black men, two White women, and two White men who delivered a memorized script (adapted from Vorauer et al., 1998). Confederates and participants answered the same seven questions, which provided opportunities for participants to self-promote (e.g., "Could you say a little about your career goals?") or ingratiate (e.g., "Is there anything you would like to change about your social life?"). Participants recorded their response to each question immediately after hearing the confederate answer that question, simulating the turn-taking involved in normal conversations. After the interaction, participants completed other measures not reported here as part of an exit questionnaire.

Demographics and manipulation checks. At the end of the study, participants indicated their race, gender, and class year as well as those of their interaction partner, then were debriefed.

Behavior coding. Four trained coders (one White man, one Latino woman, and two Black women) who were blind to experimental condition independently assessed each participant's videotape for behaviors related to self-promotion and ingratiation. Coders rated the extent of each behavior on an 11-point scale from 0 (*not at all*) to 10 (*extremely*) after exposure to all seven answers from each participant. Nonverbal behaviors were coded with the volume turned off, and verbal behaviors were coded with the volume on while facing away from the screen.

The coding schema used to rate the tapes was adapted from prior research identifying distinct behavioral strategies associated with ingratiation and self-promotion (Godfrey et al., 1986). These researchers suggest that ingratiation is evident when participants "use nonverbal approach gestures: smiles, nods, eye contact; use verbal approach attempts: humor, self-deprecating anecdotes, being natural, informal, friendly; agree and note similarities or common acquaintances; use flattery or compliments," whereas self-promotion can be observed when participants "mention accomplishments or achievements, [. . .] show confidence (nonverbal), express confidence (verbal)" (p. 110). Coded nonverbal behaviors in the present study included smiling, nodding, eye contact, comfort, upright posture, and confidence; verbal behaviors included humor, self-deprecation, flattery, friendliness, noting similarities, noting differences, agreement, disagreement, mentioning achievements, confidence in style or tone, and confidence in content. Finally, the coders rated the extent to which participants appeared to display ingratiation (i.e., liking) and self-promotion (i.e., respect) goals as described by Jones and Pittman (1982).

Additionally, behavioral engagement was coded, as it sometimes mediates behavioral effects observed in interracial interactions (e.g., Shelton, Richeson, Salvatore, & Trawalter, 2005). Perhaps due to the simulated nature of the interaction, some participants mentioned that they had difficulty immersing themselves in the situation, feeling connected to their interaction partner, or caring how that person would perceive them. Other participants, by contrast, appeared readily absorbed in the interaction, talking at a length, asking questions about the partner, and expressing eagerness to learn the other person's response to them. Two of the four coders rated participants' verbal ($\alpha = .80$) and nonverbal ($\alpha = .65$) engagement in the interaction, and these ratings were combined into a behavioral engagement composite ($\alpha = .81$).[10]

Results and Discussion

The four coders' independent ratings of participants' verbal and nonverbal behavior were averaged to create a score for each participant on each behavior. The behaviors included in the final analysis satisfied two criteria. Each behavior showed an interrater reliability of at least .6 and an item loading of at least .3 in a varimax-rotated principal components analysis. Notably, the resulting two components comprised behavior clusters that closely matched those proposed by Godfrey et al. (1986). Table 1 lists the behaviors with their reliabilities and item loadings. Item loadings were used to construct two orthogonal factor scores for each participant, indexing ingratiation (liking-seeking) and self-promotion (respect-seeking) behaviors.

We entered the participants' factor-scored behaviors into a 2 (dyad composition: same-race vs. interracial) $\times$ 2 (impression management behavior: self-promotion vs. ingratiation) $\times$ 2 (behavioral engagement level: high vs. low, based on a median split) ANOVA.[11] The main effect for engagement level revealed higher ratings of impression management behavior for more engaged ($M = 0.41$, $SD = 0.62$) than less engaged ($M = -0.43$, $SD = 0.51$) White participants, $F(1, 86) = 47.66$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .36$. Engagement level also interacted with impression management behavior, $F(1, 86) = 7.62$, $p = .007$, $\eta_p^2 = .08$. Less engaged participants self-promoted ($M = -0.24$, $SD = 0.99$) more than they ingratiated ($M = -0.62$, $SD = 0.44$), $F(1, 42) = 4.46$, $p = .041$, $\eta_p^2 = .10$. More engaged participants, in contrast, ingratiated ($M = 0.59$, $SD = 1.03$) marginally more than they self-promoted ($M = 0.23$, $SD = 0.96$), $F(1, 44) = 3.51$, $p = .068$, $\eta_p^2 = .07$.

The hypothesized two-way interaction between impression management behavior and dyad composition failed to attain significance, $F(1, 86) = 1.74$, $p = .190$, $\eta_p^2 = .02$, but was qualified by a marginal three-way interaction involving behavioral engagement, $F(1, 86) = 3.02$, $p = .086$, $\eta_p^2 = .03$. Tests of simple interactions revealed that impression management behavior and dyad composition did not significantly interact for less engaged White participants, $F(1, 42) < 1$. For more engaged White participants, however, levels of impression management behaviors varied in same-race versus interracial interactions, $F(1, 44) = 3.82$, $p = .057$, $\eta_p^2 = .08$ (see Figure 3a).[12] Simple effects tests showed that these more engaged White participants displayed comparable levels of self-promotion ($M = 0.44$, $SD = 0.95$) and ingratiation ($M = 0.42$, $SD = 0.96$) behaviors in same-race interactions, $F(1, 42) < 1$, but used more ingratiation ($M = 0.82$, $SD = 1.09$) than self-promotion ($M = -0.04$, $SD = 0.92$) behaviors in interracial

[10] Behavioral engagement did not vary for same-race versus interracial interactions, $t(88) < 1$.

[11] Engagement was included because participants' widely divergent levels of engagement led us to suspect that the predicted goal divergence might not occur for disengaged participants.

[12] Testing behavioral engagement as a continuous variable in regression corroborated these findings: Impression management behaviors diverged as a function of engagement in interracial interactions, $\Delta R^2 = .445$, $p = .002$, but not in same-race interactions, $\Delta R^2 = .135$, $p = .377$.

interactions, $F(1, 44) = 6.48$, $p = .014$, $\eta_p^2 = .23$.[13] This significant difference between self-promotion and ingratiation behaviors among more engaged White participants, evident in interracial but not same-race interactions, reflects the predicted divergence of respect and liking goals for Whites.

The findings for behavioral engagement suggest that choosing to engage in an interaction may be a prerequisite for impression management and, by extension, that divergent levels of ingratiation and self-promotion in interracial interactions will only emerge when individuals are actively trying to manage the other person's impression of them. Theoretically, that impression management would depend on exceeding a certain threshold of engagement is consistent with the claim that impression management typically requires conscious, sustained effort (Leary & Kowalski, 1990). Empirically, this need for engagement parallels previous findings: Modifying behavior in interracial interactions is associated with increased behavioral engagement (Shelton, Richeson, & Salvatore, 2005), and Whites who were perceived by Black interaction partners as more engaged in interracial interactions were also better liked (Shelton, Richeson, Salvatore, & Trawalter, 2005). Similarly, more engaged participants in the present study showed higher overall levels of impression management behaviors, coupled with more ingratiation (which should elicit liking) than self-promotion in interracial interactions.

Methodologically, the present findings underscore the advantages of using sufficiently engaging interaction paradigms for detection of effortful impression management behaviors. The design of Study 3b therefore involved direct in-person (rather than video-mediated) interactions, intended to be more inherently engaging and evaluative, to minimize concerns about participants failing to engage with the task or care about managing their partner's impression of them. (Similarly, a face-to-face interaction paradigm is used in Study 4.)

Table 1
Reliability and Principal Components Item Loadings of Coded Behaviors

Coded verbal and nonverbal behavior	Reliability (α)	Principal components 1 (Ingratiation)	2 (Self-promotion)
Smiling	.95	.77	
Friendliness	.80	.74	.43
Apparent liking goal	.83	.73	.50
Humor	.80	.71	
Flattery	.93	.66	
Gesturing	.92	.61	
Self-deprecation	.70	.60	−.45
Agreeing	.90	.60	.38
Nodding	.83	.59	
Noting similarities	.81	.43	.43
Maintaining eye contact	.73	.36	
Confidence (verbal content)	.75		.86
Apparent respect goal	.61		.71
Mentioning achievements	.78		.70
Confidence (verbal style)	.76	.46	.64
Confidence (nonverbal cues)	.72	.52	.55
Upright posture	.82		.45

Note. Interrater reliability was calculated across four coders for each behavior. Only varimax-rotated item loadings of at least .32 are reported (see Tabachnick & Fidell, 2007).

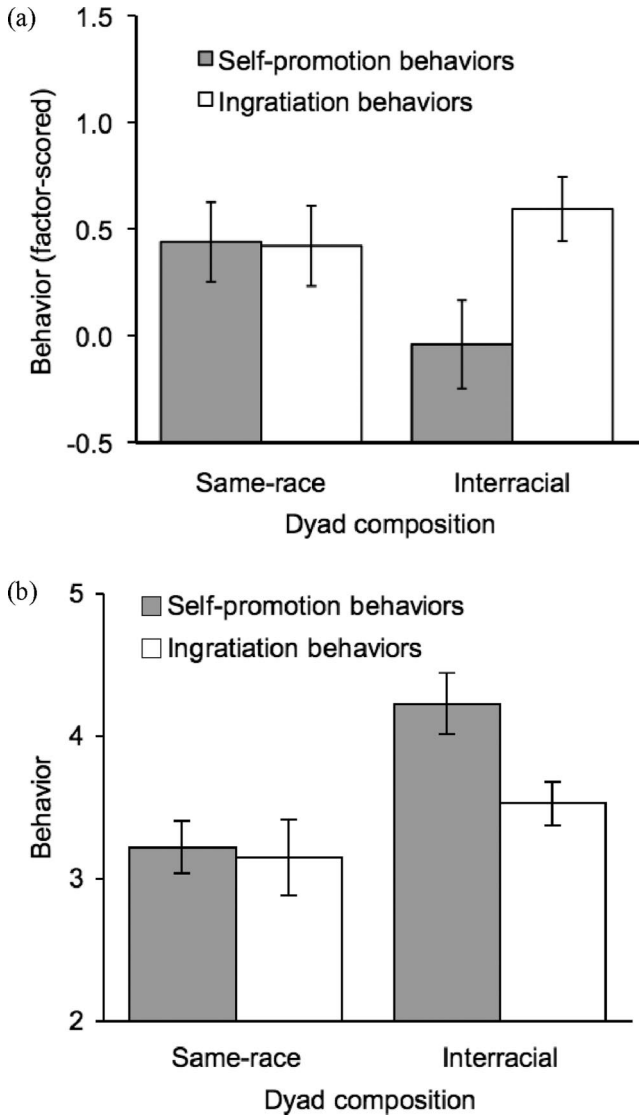

Figure 3. Mean self-promotion and ingratiation impression management behaviors of (a) highly engaged White participants (Study 3a) and (b) Black participants (Study 3b) by dyad composition. Error bars = standard errors.

Study 3b: Blacks' Impression Management Behaviors in Interracial Interactions

Study 3a documented higher levels of ingratiation than self-promotion behaviors in interracial interactions for behaviorally engaged Whites. Study 3b focuses on minorities, examining their self-promotion and ingratiation behaviors in interracial (vs. same-race) interactions. Given evidence that minorities want to be respected more than liked in interracial interactions but not during same-race interactions, we expected Blacks' impression manage-

[13] In interracial (as opposed to same-race) interactions White participants self-promoted less, $F(1, 86) = 3.94$, $p = .050$, and ingratiated nonsignificantly more, $F(1, 44) = 2.28$, $p = .138$.

ment behaviors to diverge in interracial but not same-race interactions. Specifically, we predicted comparable levels of self-promotion and ingratiation behaviors in same-race interactions but more self-promotion than ingratiation in interracial interactions.

Method

Participants. The study participants included 22 Black students (two of whom were dropped from analysis due to a video-recording error) and 10 White students. Because this study focused on minority participants (as the counterpart to Study 3a), the coding of behavior and subsequent analyses included only the Black participants. The 20 participants retained for analysis included 12 women and eight men. Participants were compensated with $10.

Design and procedure. As in Study 3a, we used a 2 (dyad composition: same-race vs. interracial) × 2 (impression management behaviors: self-promotion vs. ingratiation) mixed design, in which each Black participant was randomly assigned to interact with a White or Black partner of the same gender. Participants were told that the study concerned "the impact of the video and computer revolution on task performance and communication in work environments" and that they would have a videotaped interaction with another student.

Interaction. Participants were seated at a conference table in a room with video cameras arranged to allow each participant to be videotaped separately. Participants were instructed to come up with criteria for hiring someone into an open position at a travel agency. Participants were asked to consider what type of person would be good for the position. For 5 min, they discussed the position without the experimenter present. The cameras were visible, and participants knew they were being taped. These videos of participants' behavior during the interaction were later coded.

Demographics and debriefing. At the end of the study, participants completed a number of unrelated measures, reported their race, and were debriefed.

Behavior coding. We investigated thin slices of nonverbal behavior during participants' interactions. A 30-s clip from the midpoint of each participant's videotape was extracted, showing the participant centered on the screen, talking to an off-screen interaction partner.

Two trained coders (two White women) blind to experimental condition independently assessed each participant's videotape for behaviors related to self-promotion and ingratiation. Coders watched each clip on a color monitor (with both audio and video) and rated participants' behaviors on 9-point scales from 1 (*not at all*) to 9 (*extremely*). Drawing on Study 3a,[14] we coded the following behaviors to assess participants' impression management behaviors: flattery, friendliness, and seeking to be liked (ingratiation) as well as mentioning achievements, confidence, and seeking to be respected (self-promotion). The two coders' ratings were averaged for each variable, and the mean of these average ratings was calculated to form ingratiation (r = .81) and self-promotion (r = .85) composites.

Results and Discussion

We subjected the behavior ratings to a 2 (dyad composition: same-race vs. interracial) × 2 (impression management behaviors: ingratiation vs. self-promotion) mixed-model ANOVA. Results revealed main effects of both dyad composition and impression management behavior, respective Fs(1, 18) = 4.9 and 7.6, both of which were qualified, however, by the predicted Dyad Composition × Impression Management Behavior interaction, $F(1, 18) = 5.20$, $p = .035$, $\eta_p^2 = .22$ (see Figure 3b). Tests of simple effects revealed no differences in the extent to which Black participants displayed ingratiation ($M = 3.15$, $SD = 0.84$) versus self-promotion ($M = 3.22$, $SD = 0.58$) behaviors in same-race interactions, $F(1, 9) < 1$. By contrast, these participants were more likely to engage in self-promotion ($M = 4.23$, $SD = 0.67$) than ingratiation ($M = 3.53$, $SD = 0.48$) in interracial interactions, $F(1, 9) = 8.46$, $p = .017$, $\eta^2 = .48$. Furthermore, these Black participants engaged in more self-promotion, $F(1, 18) = 13.1$, $p = .002$, $\eta_p^2 = .42$, but comparable levels of ingratiation, $F(1, 18) = 1.56$, $p = .22$, $\eta_p^2 = .08$, during interracial versus same-race interactions. Taken together, these results provide compelling evidence that Blacks are often more interested in seeking respect than in being liked during interracial interactions.

Study 4: Divergent Goals and Negative Affect in Live Interracial Interactions

With this study, we extended the previous studies by simultaneously examining the impression management goals of Whites and minorities engaging in live same-race or interracial interactions with one another. Dyadic analyses enable us to test whether White and minority participants engaging in the same task together indeed diverge in their goals, while controlling for any dyad-level variation in the extent to which participant pairs wish to appear competent versus moral.

Moreover, this study included Asians—in addition to Whites, Blacks, and Latinos—in sufficient numbers for us to compare the extent of goal divergence between Whites and minority groups stereotyped as incompetent (e.g., Blacks and Latinos) versus competent (e.g., Asians). We theorized that divergent impression management goals in intergroup settings depend not just on status differentials between groups but also on the content of group stereotypes. Although Asians, Blacks, and Latinos are seen as having lower group status than Whites, Asians are not perceived as incompetent. Also, although Blacks may see Whites as intolerant, selfish, and arrogant (e.g., Krueger, 1996), it is not clear that Asians have a comparably negative view of Whites or that Whites anticipate that Asians will perceive them as immoral or unlikeable. Thus, differences in stereotype content led us to predict less goal divergence between Whites and Asians in their interactions with one another than between Whites and Blacks or Latinos.

Finally, consistent with our theorizing that navigating an interaction with an impression management goal that is divergent from that of one's interaction partner may be aversive, we tested in Study 4 the affective correlates of these divergent goals. We expected that goal divergence in interracial interactions would be associated with higher levels of negative affect, especially affect directed at the other person. Thus, in this study, we attempted to

[14] We selected behaviors from Study 3a that loaded highly on the intended dimension, had high face validity, and could be coded reliably with full-channel (audio and video) presentation.

extend the previous studies by providing evidence that goal divergence in interracial contexts is associated with negative interpersonal outcomes.

Method

Participants. Eighty-four same-sex pairs of students were recruited to participate in an "opinion exchange" study for course credit or $12. After excluding four dyads with participants who indicated being "moderately" or "very" well previously acquainted[15] and eight dyads in which a participant misperceived the other's race, the final sample included 27 White/White dyads, 28 White/Black and White/Latino dyads, and 17 White/Asian dyads. This sample included 46 men and 98 women, of whom 99 self-identified as White, 22 as Black, 6 as Latino, and 17 as Asian.

Design and procedure. This study was designed such that White participants were randomly assigned to interact with a White, Black, Latino, or Asian fellow participant. (Due to sampling constraints in the student population, no same-race minority dyads were included.) A White or Asian female experimenter greeted participants and took them to separate rooms, where they learned that they would discuss their opinions on two social topics with another person.[16]

Discussions. Participants sat in the same room and selected a topic from a rigged drawing that assigned them to discuss either modern racism or ethnic diversity in schools. The respective prompts for this conversation read as follows:

> Racism has played an influential role in shaping American history, from slavery, anti-immigration laws, and other policies that contributed to racial disparities. Some people argue that racism is a thing of the past, whereas others believe that it continues to exist in the present day. Discuss your thoughts and opinions about the state of racism in modern American society.

> Although the population of ethnic minorities continues to grow in the United States, student populations among universities remain ethnically homogeneous. Discuss your thoughts and opinions about how universities can ensure an ethnically diverse student body.

After providing the instruction paragraphs, the experimenter left the room and gave the participants 5 min to discuss the topic.

After the first discussion, the participants each completed a postinteraction questionnaire in separate rooms. Next, the experimenter reunited the participants in one room and had them select a second discussion topic (rigged to be the remaining discussion topic: either modern racism or ethnic diversity in schools) to discuss for 5 min. After the second discussion, participants again completed a postinteraction questionnaire in separate rooms.

Impression management goals. After the second interaction, participants reported the importance to them of appearing competent or moral to their partner during both interactions. Specifically, participants reported whether "it was important to me that the other participant saw me as" *intelligent*, *capable*, and *competent* (competence goal; $\alpha = .90$) or *fair*, *kind*, *open-minded*, and *a good person* (morality goal; $\alpha = .88$) on 7-point scales. We computed an impression management goal difference score by subtracting the morality trait mean from the competence trait mean to enable assessment of the goals' relative strength in a mixed-model dyadic analysis. Higher difference scores indicate a preference for appearing competent over appearing moral.

Affect. In the second questionnaire, participants also indicated the extent to which they felt each of 27 emotions "at the present moment" on a scale from 1 (*very slightly or not at all*) to 5 (*extremely*). The five items assessing negative other-directed affect came from Vorauer and Kumhyr's (2001) "negative feelings toward others" composite: *hostile*, *upset at others*, *irritated at others*, *resentful*, *angry at others* ($\alpha = .79$). (The other 22 items were combined to create composites of negative self-directed affect, discomfort, wariness, and positive affect.) Notably, these items ostensibly tap emotion directed "at others" as opposed to "at the other participant" to minimize social desirability biases in reporting, but in this context negative other-directed affect is thought to be primarily directed at the interaction partner, not other people in general.

Demographics and manipulation checks. Finally, participants provided demographic information, reported their perceptions of their partner's gender and race, indicated any prior acquaintance with one another, and were debriefed, thanked, and compensated.

Results and Discussion

As in Study 2, this sample includes both interracial and same-race dyads, so the data are thus treated as indistinguishable in all dyadic analyses (Kenny et al., 2006). A modified factorial approach (West et al., 2008) was used to test contrasts between Whites and minorities in same-race versus interracial interactions. (Contrasts were used because the study design did not include minorities in same-race interactions, confounding the main effects of participant race and dyad composition and rendering them less meaningful.) The full 2 (participant race) $\times$ 2 (dyad composition) factorial approach involves estimating three parameters in each model and requires four types of dyads: Whites and minorities in same-race and interracial interactions.

In the absence of minority–minority dyads, only two parameters were estimated in the model, with Whites with minority partners as the reference group. When entered simultaneously, the "interracial dyad" dummy code (1 for minorities with White partners; 0 for others) contrasts Whites and minorities in interracial dyads, while the "White participant" dummy code (1 for Whites with White partners; 0 for others) contrasts Whites with minority versus White partners. Univariate outliers were trimmed not to exceed 2.5 standard deviations.

Impression management goals. Paralleling the previous studies, initial analyses of impression management goals focused on Whites relative to Blacks and Latinos (see Figure 4a). The impression management goal difference score was submitted to a mixed-model dyadic analysis testing the two contrasts of interest. The "interracial dyad" contrast proved significant, estimate = 0.78, $t(54) = 2.59$, $p = .012$, indicating that as hypothesized, in interracial dyads, minorities more strongly preferred appearing

[15] Previously well-acquainted participants were excluded because this study aimed to examine interactions among strangers and because divergent goals are not expected for friends who report knowing each other especially well (see Study 2).

[16] At this point, participants read a story designed to induce an ideological mind-set, which did not influence the findings reported here (all $ps > .10$).

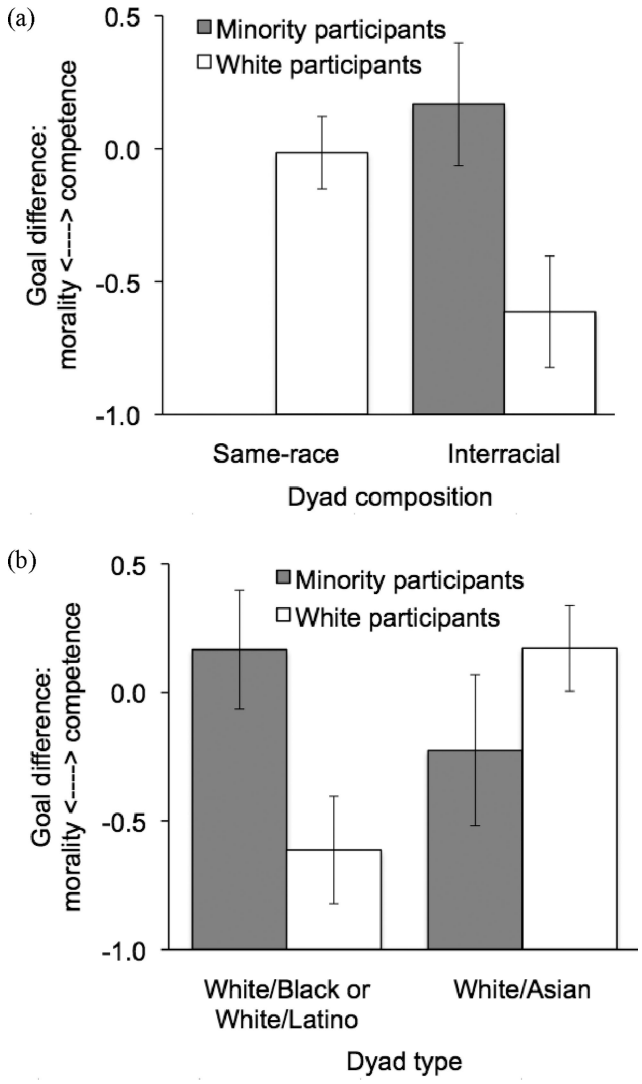

Figure 4. Mean impression management goal divergence (competence goal–morality goal) by (a) participant race and dyad composition (minority participants were Black and Latino; Asians excluded), and (b) participant race and dyad type (minority participants were Black, Latino, and Asian; Study 4). Error bars = standard errors.

competent over appearing moral ($M = 0.17$, $SD = 1.22$), whereas Whites more strongly preferred appearing moral over appearing competent ($M = -0.61$, $SD = 1.11$). Moreover, the "White participant" contrast was significant, estimate = 0.60, $t(99.3) = 2.40$, $p = .018$, indicating that Whites with minority partners more strongly sought to appear moral (vs. competent) relative to Whites with White partners ($M = -0.02$, $SD = 1.00$).

Group variation. The next set of analyses examined whether such goal divergence would be observed between Whites and a lower status minority group that is not stereotyped as incompetent, namely, Asians. The stereotype of Asians as competent—on par with or exceeding Whites—spans seven decades (Bergsieker, Leslie, Constantine, & Fiske, 2009; Katz & Braly, 1933); however, Asians are still not generally perceived to have as high societal status as Whites (e.g., Vorauer & Sakamoto, 2008). Ratings from an independent sample of 344 undergraduates drawn from the same population as Study 4 showed that Whites ($M = 6.46$, $SD = 0.70$), Asians ($M = 5.30$, $SD = 0.91$), Blacks ($M = 3.39$, $SD = 1.23$), and Latinos ($M = 3.06$, $SD = 1.09$) differ in perceived societal status on a scale from 1 (*very low status*) to 7 (*very high status*), $F(2.2, 740.1) = 1153.65$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .77$, and Bonferroni-corrected comparisons confirmed that Asians are seen as having lower status than Whites ($p < .001$).

We submitted impression management goal difference scores for participants in interracial dyads only to a mixed-model dyadic analysis with three parameters: participant race (White vs. non-White), dyad type (White–Asian vs. White–Black or White–Latino[17]), and the Participant Race × Dyad Type interaction (see Figure 4b). As predicted, the effect of participant race on goals interacted significantly with the type of dyad, estimate = 0.32, $t(41) = 2.56$, $p = .014$, such that White and Black or Latino participants who interacted with one another reported goals that diverged significantly in the predicted direction, $t(41) = 2.77$, $p = .008$,[18] whereas White ($M = 0.17$, $SD = 0.69$) and Asian ($M = -0.23$, $SD = 1.21$) participants who interacted with one another showed nonsignificant goal divergence in the opposite direction, $t(41) = 1.02$, $p = .316$. These results suggest that when Whites interact with Asians, who are slightly lower in perceived societal status but not perceived competence and who may not see Whites as prejudiced to the same extent as do Blacks and Latinos, no significant goal divergence by race is observed. In contrast, when Whites are paired with Blacks or Latinos, these participants diverge significantly in their impression management goals, with Whites more strongly wanting to be seen as moral (i.e., likeable) and minorities preferring to appear competent (i.e., worthy of respect).

Affect. Returning once again to the three primary groups of interest—Whites with White partners, Whites with Black or Latino partners, and Blacks or Latinos with White partners—mixed-model dyadic analyses revealed that negative other-directed affect interacted significantly with both contrasts, potentially signaling moderation (see Figure 5). The "interracial dyad" contrast was qualified by negative other-directed affect, $t(92.1) = 3.34$, $p = .001$, such that as levels of negative other-directed affect rose, preferences for appearing competent (vs. moral) increased for minorities with White partners, $r(26) = .43$, $p = .023$, but decreased for Whites with minority partners, $r(26) = -.37$, $p = .050$. The "White participant" contrast also significantly interacted with negative other-directed emotion, $t(103.5) = 2.26$, $p = .026$; negative other-directed affect and competence (vs. morality) goals were negatively correlated for Whites with minority partners (see earlier discussion) but not those with White partners, $r(52) = .06$, $p = .645$. In other words, for participants in interracial dyads who felt more negative emotion toward their partner, minorities reported an increased preference for appearing competent as opposed to moral and Whites reported an increased preference for

[17] No significant goal divergence emerged between Whites with Black versus Latino partners ($p = .763$) or between Blacks versus Latinos with White partners ($p = .535$).

[18] This difference's significance ($p = .008$) deviates from that reported previously ($p = .012$) due to differing error terms in models with distinct subsets of participants (respective *n*s = 88 and 110).

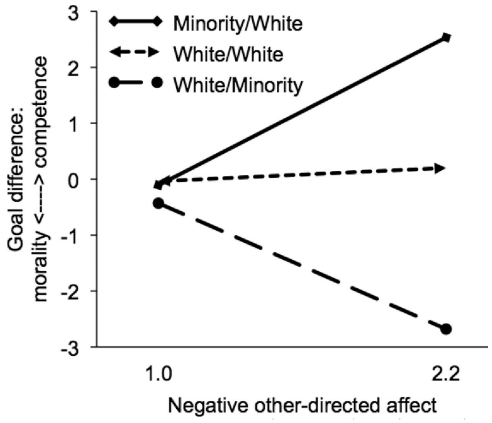

Figure 5. Mean impression management goal divergence (competence goal–morality goal) by participant race, dyad type, and negative other-directed affect plotted over observed affect range (Study 4). Minority participants included Blacks and Latinos (not Asians).

appearing moral as opposed to competent, but in White–White dyads, negative emotion was not correlated with impression management goals.

Analyses of goals at the lower and upper bounds of the observed affect range confirmed that both contrasts were significant at the upper bound of reported negative other-directed affect, $ps < .01$, but not at the lower bound, $ps > .25$. These results suggest that divergent goals are not an invariant feature of interracial interactions but instead covary with negative emotion.[19]

To test whether these effects were specific to negative other-directed affect and not negative affect in general, we performed mixed-model analyses to test the relationship of negative self-directed affect, discomfort, and wariness to impression management goals. In interracial interactions, goal divergence for Whites and minorities (i.e., Blacks and Latinos), tested by the "interracial dyad" contrast, was not qualified by negative self-directed affect, $p = .741$, and increased only slightly at higher levels of wariness, $p = .097$, or discomfort, $p = .112$.[20] Thus, divergent impression management goals in interracial interactions appear to be associated with increased negative other-directed affect in particular, not negative affect in general.

The measurement of both affect and impression management goals after, not during, the interaction, precludes our making any strong claims about the causal or temporal sequence of these processes. Possibly variation in emotion predicts differences in goals: Lower levels of negative other-directed affect could signal that the interaction is going smoothly and buffer participants against concerns about being stereotyped, decreasing their need to pursue divergent impression management goals. Or perhaps the reverse is true and divergent goals lead to changes in affect: Trying harder to disconfirm a negative stereotype (i.e., incompetence or immorality) about one's group in the presence of an outgroup member may lead people to feel more negative emotion because they have to expend more effort to focus on countering a negative stereotype than they typically would to be seen as average in competence and morality. Alternatively, a third variable, such as perceived partner prejudice, might cause people to feel more upset at more apparently prejudiced partners for potentially stereotyping them and more motivated to disconfirm that negative stereotype to that person. Each of these scenarios suggests avenues for further study.

In sum, Study 4 provides evidence consistent with our theorizing. First, Whites' and minorities' impression management goals diverge in live dyadic interracial interactions, with Whites preferring to appear moral and minorities preferring to appear competent. Second, differing stereotype content, rather than mere status disparities, may be critical for producing divergent goals, because Whites and Asians who interacted with one another failed to show a significant divergence in impression management goals, which was in sharp contrast to interactions between Whites and Blacks or Latinos. Third, consistent with the claim that divergent goals may lead to negative interpersonal outcomes, we observed higher levels of negative other-directed affect associated with greater impression management goal divergence in interracial (but not same-race) interactions. These results fit our prediction based on the circumplex model of interpersonal behavior that incompatible impression management goals could give rise to noncomplementary reactions and hostility-related emotions.

General Discussion

Our primary aim in the present research was to examine the impression management goals activated for Whites and racial minorities in interracial interactions. Our studies provide support for the hypothesis that Whites and racial minorities pursue divergent liking and respect goals, respectively, in interracial interactions. In Studies 1a and 1b, this pattern emerged when participants were compelled to choose between being liked versus respected or being perceived as moral versus competent along a bipolar continuum. In Study 2, a parallel pattern of divergent goal preferences emerged for Whites and minorities in pre-existing relationships.

Studies 3a and 3b extend these results through assessment of behavior. Specifically, in Study 3a, the divergence in self-promotion and ingratiation behaviors observed among more engaged Whites in simulated interracial actions showed that, when interacting with a White versus Black partner, Whites adopt different behavioral strategies that correspond closely to the predicted divergent impression management goals. Likewise, in Study 3b, the divergence in self-promotion and ingratiation behaviors showed that Blacks also vary their behaviors depending on the race of their partner to reflect the goals they would like to fulfill.

Finally, Study 4 addressed the generalizability of impression management goal divergence across racial groups and tests affective correlates. White and minority strangers who interacted in the laboratory reported divergent impression management goals in

[19] Negative other-directed affect ($M = 1.18$, $SD = 0.31$) did not mediate goal divergence. Negative other-directed affect did not vary by participant race or dyad composition, $ps > .19$, and in the basic mixed-model analysis of goals, negative other-directed affect did not directly predict differences in goals, $t(103.4) < 1$, whereas the "interracial dyad" and "White participant" contrasts remained significant, $t(53.6) = 2.58$ and $t(98.7) = 2.31$, respectively, both $ps < .03$.

[20] Whites' and minorities' goals diverged to a greater extent when participants reported less positive affect, $p = .044$, but this moderation—unlike that for negative other-directed affect—dropped to marginal significance ($p = .058$) with ideological prime included in the model.

interracial (but not same-race) interactions, with Whites again preferring to appear moral and Blacks and Latinos preferring to appear competent. These divergent goals were not observed in interactions with White and Asian participants (for whom the respective stereotypes about prejudice and incompetence are less clear). Moreover, impression management goal divergence was associated with negative other-directed affect. In interracial interactions, no goal divergence emerged for participants who experienced low levels of negative other-directed affect, whereas high levels of negative other-directed affect were associated with wanting to appear moral for Whites and wanting to appear competent for Blacks and Latinos. Collectively, these studies demonstrate a consistent divergence in Whites' and racial minorities' impression management goals and behavioral strategies in interracial interactions, with Whites pursuing liking and minorities seeking respect.

Divergent Perspectives of Whites and Minorities

Our findings contribute to a growing body of research showing that Whites and racial minorities often have vastly different perspectives in interracial interactions. Divergences have been documented on many levels. For example, research using a relational approach to study dyadic interactions between Whites and minorities has shown that one individual's heightened prejudice concerns may lead to positive interaction experiences for an interaction partner but negative outcomes (e.g., cognitive disruption, felt inauthenticity, negative affect) for the self (Richeson & Shelton, 2007; Shelton & Richeson, 2006). Furthermore, the specific concerns activated for Whites and minorities in interracial interactions typically differ: Whites more often worry about appearing prejudiced (Vorauer et al., 1998), whereas minorities worry about being the target of prejudice and appearing incompetent (Shelton & Richeson, 2006). Given extensive evidence of divergent experiences in interracial interactions, it follows logically that Whites' and minorities' impression management goals may also differ, and these contrasting goals may in turn contribute to this pattern of divergent experiences in interracial interactions.

On an ideological level, Whites and minorities often diverge in their preferences for assimilation versus integration, respectively, in interracial relations. Majority group members typically prefer assimilation models that downplay subgroup distinctiveness and require minorities to adopt majority group culture. Minorities, by contrast, prefer integration models that respect distinct subgroups and preserve minority cultures within an overarching group (Ryan, Hunt, Weible, Peterson, & Casas, 2007). Critically, these contrasting ideological preferences may lead Whites and minorities to navigate interracial interactions differently, and these conflicting approaches may perpetuate group inequalities (see Dovidio, Gaertner, & Saguy, 2007). In recent research, preferences for discussing group commonalities versus power differences have been examined with both experimental and ethnic groups (Saguy, Dovidio, & Pratto, 2008). High-status group members preferred discussing commonalities, whereas low-status group members wanted to discuss both commonalities and power differences. Discussing commonalities promoted positive intergroup attitudes, causing low-status groups to anticipate more benevolent treatment from high-status groups (Saguy, Tausch, Dovidio, & Pratto, 2009). Focusing on similarities also led high-status groups to report more favorable outgroup attitudes but did not lead them to reduce the power differential between the groups.

Our work on divergent impression management goals in interracial interactions is convergent with the finding that Whites prefer assimilation and talking about commonalities, whereas minorities prefer integration and talking about intergroup differences. For Whites, who primarily want to be liked by minorities in interracial interactions, discussing intergroup commonalities (as opposed to power differences) facilitates a more pleasant, comfortable interaction that creates a "façade of 'liking'" (Dovidio et al., 2007, p. 324). For minorities, however, who primarily seek respect in interracial interactions, Whites' tendency to discuss commonalities and ignore intergroup distinctions or power differences does not afford minorities the acknowledgment, status, and respect that they seek. If discussing commonalities causes (a) low-status group members to expect outgroup benevolence and (b) high-status group members to perpetuate status differences despite these expectations (Saguy et al., 2009), minorities may feel disrespected in these interactions and potentially dislike the Whites who have disappointed them.

Similarly, work on reconciliation following intergroup conflict shows that more effective intergroup communications address the distinct goals and needs of high- and low-status groups (Shnabel & Nadler, 2008). Motivation for intergroup reconciliation is greatest for members of high-status groups following messages of acceptance (i.e., liking) from low-status groups but for members of low-status groups following messages of empowerment (i.e., respect) from high-status groups (Shnabel, Nadler, Ullrich, Dovidio, & Carmi, 2009). In contrast, Whites' focus on commonalities and their failure to reduce group power differences do not provide empowerment to minority groups (failing to meet minorities' respect goal), a disappointment that may in turn reduce minorities' acceptance of Whites (failing to meet Whites' liking goal).

In sum, this research suggests that the divergent perspectives of Whites and minorities and the resulting strategies they adopt may frustrate rather than fulfill Whites' and minorities' liking and respect goals in interracial interactions. If Whites take an assimilating approach, ignore power, and downplay race, minorities may feel disrespected. Likewise, if minorities adopt an integrating approach, disregard similarities, and bring up racial issues, Whites may think minorities dislike them. These unmet goals may undermine their interactions.

Implications for Interracial Communication, Cognition, and Emotion

Divergent impression management goals present in interracial interactions may also lead to misunderstandings and negative attitudes toward interaction partners. Research suggests that Whites and Blacks may respond especially negatively to the impression management behaviors that the other group is most likely to demonstrate. For example, relative to Blacks, Whites tend to perceive people who engage in self-promotion more unfavorably, deeming them less trustworthy (Hull, Okdie, Guadagno, & Bennett, 2008), and evaluating them negatively even when the self-promotion is truthful (Holtgraves & Dulin, 1994). Moreover, Blacks may be likely to distrust Whites' display of overtly friendly behavior more so than other types of behavior. For instance, Whites' verbal friendliness in interracial interactions often does

not lead their Black interaction partners to see them favorably (Dovidio, Kawakami, & Gaertner, 2002). Insofar as Whites and minorities may distrust individuals (especially outgroup members) who self-promote or ingratiate, respectively, these tendencies compound the difficulties caused by divergent goals in interracial interactions.

Moreover, we predict that incompatible impression management goals in interracial interactions may lead to negative cognitive outcomes. These goals may induce a narrow focus of attention and greater cognitive load. The attention needed for sustained impression management and monitoring of interaction partners' (often noncomplementary) responses leaves fewer resources for processing additional information about the other individual or the interaction. Interracial interactions tend to be more cognitively depleting than same-race interactions (Richeson & Shelton, 2007). Whites' tendency to "overcorrect"—indicated by increased smiling, laughing, showing positive affect, and attempts to be liked—in interactions with stigmatized partners is associated with a physiological threat response (Mendes & Koslov, 2009), suggesting that ingratiating may make interracial interactions more depleting for Whites. Pursuing incompatible impression management goals in interracial interactions may thus lead individuals to feel cognitively debilitated during and after interactions, hindering effective cooperation.

Finally, Study 4 highlights the connection between Whites' and minorities' divergent impression management goals and their affective experiences in interracial interactions. Meta-analyses show that relative to cognitive factors (e.g., stereotypes or beliefs), intergroup emotion improves to a greater extent following intergroup contact (Tropp & Pettigrew, 2005) and twice as strongly predicts intergroup discrimination (Talaska, Fiske, & Chaiken, 2008). Moreover, intergroup admiration and anger or resentment fully mediated the relationship between intergroup contact and attitudes among a nationally representative sample of Whites, Blacks, and Asians (Seger, Banerji, Smith, & Mackie, 2009). If divergent impression management goals for Whites and minorities in interracial interactions are associated with negative other-directed affect—specifically, anger at others, hostility, and resentment—these affective experiences could have powerful negative implications for the attitudes Whites and minorities hold toward one another.

Limitations

Given our predictions about Whites' and minorities' preferences diverging, respectively, toward liking or morality goals and respect or competence goals in interracial interactions—and converging in same-race interactions—it may appear surprising that participants' net preferences vary across studies, sometimes tending toward respect or competence (e.g., Studies 1a and 1b) and other times toward liking or morality (e.g., Studies 2 and 4) on average. Our chief interest, however, is in the relative emphasis placed by Whites versus minorities on these goals in same-race versus interracial settings, not the absolute level of each goal, which may be influenced by context (as in Study 1b) or measurement (e.g., due to variation in the rated importance of appearing *kind* vs. *capable* or frequency of smiling vs. mentioning achievements). Interested readers may consult Jones and Pittman (1982) for a theoretical discussion of impression management goals' relative priority or Nezlek and colleagues (2007) for an empirical assessment of their pervasiveness.

Additionally, this work has not yet definitively established the boundary conditions or underlying mechanisms for divergent impression management goals for Whites and minorities in interracial interactions. That these goals diverged even within interracial friendships may seem surprising (or discouraging), and although this divergence was attenuated for people who felt that their friends knew them well, this moderation was not significant. Also, the causal sequence linking divergent impression management goals and negative other-directed affect in interracial interactions remains unclear. Thus, further specifying antecedents of Whites' and minorities' divergent goals and identifying means to reconverge them is a worthy aim for future research.

Concluding Remarks

The present work makes a novel contribution to the intergroup relations literature by documenting substantial divergence in the goals Whites and minorities may bring to interracial contexts. Unlike much prior work in intergroup relations, the divergent respect/competence and liking/morality goals held by racial minorities and Whites, respectively, in interracial interactions do not derive from implicit or explicit animus between groups. Instead, these divergent goals can arise independently of individuals' biases to impede interactions between minorities and Whites who initially have favorable attitudes and intentions toward one another. This work goes beyond a focus on prejudice reduction and even intergroup attitudes more broadly to highlight instead some functional and strategic aspects of interracial interactions that may arise from Whites' and minorities' divergent perspectives. Consideration of the distinct goals and needs of Whites and minorities in interracial interactions can better enable individuals and institutions to navigate or structure contexts in ways that not only improve race relations but also reduce racial inequalities.

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